

For Polish Trotskyism!

What Next for Poland?

Reagan Weeps for Counterrevolutionary Solidarność

With the Polish government's preventive coup on December 13, a counterrevolutionary bid for power by Solidarność has been checked. Previously the one thing everybody seemed to agree on was that order could be restored only by Russian military intervention—and that would mean a bloodbath. Yet it was the Polish army which not only suppressed pro-Western Solidarność, but did so with only a dozen or so deaths.

There was little bloodshed because there was little resistance. The workers intoxicated by the clerical-nationalist fervor of Solidarność have received a sobering shock. Many are asking themselves what went wrong and are now open to new solutions. This situation represents a crucial opportunity to create the nuclei of a Trotskyist party in Poland, through constructing underground cells of a propagandistic and educational nature.

Pentagon official Richard Perle admitted "we were taken by surprise" that the Polish government could "crush Solidarity." All Washington's scenarios to whip up anti-Communist frenzy over a Soviet invasion had to be revamped. So ever since December 13 the Reagan-



Crucial opportunity to build Trotskyist vanguard in Poland.

ites have tried to convince the world that it's really the Russians who have taken over Poland. They only look and talk like Poles. Frustrated at not seeing Russian and Polish blood flowing in the streets of Warsaw and Gdansk, Reagan has lashed out with economic sanctions against both Poland and the USSR.

It was not only the American imperialists that were taken by surprise at the

ignominious defeat of their Polish company union. So were the Poles... on both sides. An aide to General Jaruzelski told Western journalists rather exultantly: "If anything, I am surprised that it went so easily. The radical wing of Solidarity underestimated the feelings of the silent majority" (*New York Times*, 6 January). A Solidarność spokesman said pretty much the same

thing, only in his case with anguish:

"We always believed that Polish soldiers would never shoot Polish workers—and it's still true, they haven't really. But the diabolical thing is they don't have to."

—*New York Times*, 1 January

The Western bourgeoisie, which glorified Solidarność as an uprising of the entire Polish nation, is hard put to

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U.S. Arms Salvadoran Death Squads

"Human Rights" Massacres

The American-backed junta in El Salvador has carried out a savage massacre in the name of defending the "free world" against Communism. A sweep through the rural province of Morazán by an elite U.S.-trained brigade left a thousand corpses strewn along the mountain trails and piled in the village chapels, victims of the blood-crazed military butchers.

In its scope and calculated barbarity the Morazán massacre screamed "My Lai" from the mass graves. Although it took place in early December, it was not until late last month that the grisly atrocity was confirmed by American reporters.

Ironically, the news came just one day before President Reagan certified to Congress that the Salvadoran junta had made progress in "human rights." And as if to confirm that the slaughter in Morazán was no aberration, on January 31, junta troops staged a "night and fog" operation, raiding homes in a working-class suburb of the capital, raping,

heating and killing 19 youths selected at random.

But the chilling eyewitness accounts published in the leading U.S. papers did not embarrass Ronald Reagan. Unfazed, he proceeded to submit his declaration (required by a liberal amendment to the foreign aid bill) that the Salvadoran junta "has made a concerted, significant and good-faith effort to deal with the complex political, social and human rights problems it is confronting and that progress is being made" (*Washington Post*, 29 January).

Reagan, in fact, is preparing to ship even more than the \$26 million in military aid already allotted to El Salvador. On January 27 a successful leftist guerrilla attack on the Salvadoran air force base at Ilopango left at least 18 war planes and four Huey helicopters heavily damaged. In the aftermath of this stunning raid, the administration indicated it would seek \$100 million in additional aid to the murderous junta, double the current level.

The scorched-earth policy of the Salvadoran armed forces in the guerrilla base areas and the ferocious rightist repression which has claimed something like 30,000 victims in less than three years have not weakened the strength of the left-wing rebels of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN). In fact, administration officials admitted to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on January 28, according to the *Post*, that after the Ilopango raid, "the Salvadoran military's ability to support ground operations against the guerrillas had been sharply impaired and possibly eliminated."

Massacre at Mozote

The soldiers came to the mountain village of Mozote on the evening of December 11. The 500 inhabitants, mostly children, women and old men, were gathered on the road while troops from the U.S.-trained Atlacatl Brigade searched and looted their mud-brick



Montes/Gamma

Victims of Reagan-armed junta.

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Malice and the Media

The movie *Absence of Malice* has stirred a wave of protest from newspaper writers and editors who complain it is a slap in the face against the press. They call it a "backlash" movie against *All the President's Men* where liberal muckraking reporters wear the white hats in unraveling the Watergate scandal. In *Absence* Sally Field plays a gullible young city room reporter easily set up by government investigators to "leak" phony information about suspected Mafia figure Paul Newman. "Couldn't happen here," scream the indignant defenders of the Fifth Estate. But it could and does all the time.

The epithets have been particularly hot and heavy at the lib/rad *Village Voice*. In a major brouhaha, no less than five different *Voice* writers have been going at each other for weeks from their respective columns, writing poison pen letters to their own newspaper, throwing ad hominem attacks into totally unrelated articles. Nat Hentoff, the *Voice*'s civil libertarian, defended the film against the "snarling reaction" of people with a "swollen sense of their privileged rank." He added:

"Every single instance of journalistic malpractice in *Absence of Malice* I have seen, in one form or another, during my more than 20 years either at the *Voice* or other places I've worked."

—*Village Voice*, 25 November–1 December 1981

In response staff writer Joe Conason fired off a prickly "letter to the editor" protesting Hentoff's "unsupported smear." Others complained the film was a frontal attack on the First Amendment (logic: anyone who attacks the press for whatever reason is attacking the First Amendment). Feminists complained that it was a put-down of women because no man could appear as stupid as Sally Field and still be believable. Well....

The attack on the film in the name of freedom of the press is a smokescreen for those who are trying to cover up government manipulation of the media. It's not surprising that the *Voice*'s White

Knight of the First Amendment, Hentoff, should lead the film's defenders. And he's got plenty of evidence to make his case. He points to the Abscam leaks in which Congressmen, after being entrapped by the FBI, were then tried in the press before they had even been indicted. He cites the case a few years ago where a front-page *New York Times*

against *Absence of Malice*:

"In the November 22 Sunday *News*, Marcia Kramer wrote a piece, 'A News Reporter Challenges a Screen Portrait of the Press.' In it, Kramer says that if Sally Field had spent a week with her, so well-seasoned a pro, Field 'would have balked at portraying a character so naive' as the reporter in the movie. 'Is this not the very same Marcia



Columbia Pictures

Sally Field and Paul Newman in "Absence of Malice."

"leak" from a special prosecutor destroyed the reputation of an NYC judge; his exoneration was later reported with a single inch of type buried on the inside pages. Then there are the Pentagon reporters who so take on the values of those they cover that they later slip into jobs in Defense without missing a beat—like the *New York Times*' revolving-door "national security" correspondents Leslie Gelb, a top political commissar for the War Department under Carter, and Richard Burt, head of State's Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs.

But his *pièce de grâce* is aimed at *Daily News* reporter Marcia Kramer, one of those who screamed loudest

Kramer who had earlier told us of the Weather Underground's Cuba connections?... It was vivid stuff, asserting without qualification that DGI (Cuban Intelligence) trained members of the cadre in Cuba and even rebuked them for not taking bold enough action at home....

"According to their piece, these revelations came from 'Washington FBI sources.' Oh. Any additional verification? If there was, it's not in the report."

—*Village Voice*,
16-22 December 1981

And Marcia Kramer is not alone. Hentoff cites a *New York Post* story that one suspect in the Nyack Brinks holdup, Nat Burns, was a former "SWAPO guerrilla trained by the

Cubans and Soviets in Afghanistan." Says who? "Sources said," the *Post* article's authors told Hentoff. Or the *Wall Street Journal* editorial demanding an investigation of the "Cuban connection" with the Weathermen, based on supposed first-hand accounts with Larry Grathwohl, who they neglect to mention was a long-time FBI informer. And the list goes on.

In the age of Lyndon Johnson's "credibility gap" and Richard Nixon's "18-minute gap," the press has been portrayed as righteous defenders of the truth. And today there are influential forces out to discredit it and cut off its sources. The enormous scandal over *Washington Post* reporter Janet Cooke's New Journalism (made-up) story on 8-year-old junkie Jimmy was used by ex-Nixon flack William Safire as part of the right-wing/witchhunters' drive to do a plumbing job on the media. Reagan is trying to use lie detectors (Carlucci's Chastity Belt) to stop "leaks" at Defense, just like Nixon used his wiretaps against journalists on his enemies list. As the press becomes more aggressive in exposing the cruelties and irrationalities of Reagan policies, the administration is looking hard for ways to shut them up.

But *Absence of Malice* shows the opposite—that the "free press" is frequently used by the government to frame, smear and subvert. And it's not just through using turkey reporters. The powerful opinion-makers and magnates who control the press are well aware of their "responsibility" to the American capitalist ruling class. It's well known that the *New York Times* covered up reports of the planned invasion of the Bay of Pigs. And at the "crusading" *Washington Post* of Ben Bradlee, Woodward & Bernstein fame, then-editor Bill Graham also killed the story of the CIA-planned invasion of Cuba. As *New Yorker* critic A.J. Leibling used to comment, the press is only free for those that own one. Say it ain't so, Rupert. ■

Letters

Deukmejian's Frame-Up

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Edmund G. Brown Jr.
Governor

December 28, 1981

Mr. Al Nelson
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Dear Mr. Nelson:

Thank you for your letter of December 18 and accompanying documents regarding the Attorney General's mistake in including the Spartacist League in his report on organized crime.

We appreciate your taking the time to bring this matter to our attention.

Sincerely,
Allen Sumner
Deputy Legal Affairs Secretary

Reds and Zinoviev

Milwaukee, WI
January 14, 1982

Pat Kincaid
c/o *Workers Vanguard*

I enjoyed your review of "Reds" in the December 18th issue of *Workers Vanguard* [No. 295]. Having

read a number of reviews I was most impressed by its analysis. This is not to say that others weren't also interesting. I have enclosed two reviews that have appeared in the *Daily World*. (If you haven't already seen them.) You will note that after more than 50 years the Stalinists have yet to get their "facts" straight. The Baku Congress docs seem to be the most controversial scene. The *Militant* review says Reed hardly spoke and that his written speech did not mention class or holy war. The review does say that Zinoviev did call for a holy war however, and by their silence seemingly approve. Your review seems vague on this point of what Zinoviev actually did. Possibly in future articles *Workers Vanguard* could expand on the up and down career of Zinoviev that ended in front of one of Stalin's firing squads.

Yours,
Marc Sanders

WV replies: Our review, "Reds on REDS," noted that while Warren Beatty's movie on the life of John Reed was generally (and unusually) historically accurate, "with the figure of Zinoviev... Beatty does make some concessions to anti-Communist stereotypes." Particularly controversial is the scene late in the film which shows Reed angrily protesting because Zinoviev had supposedly changed his speech to the Baku Congress. This parallels an earlier scene where Reed directs the same protest against one of his bourgeois editors: "Nobody changes my copy," he shouts. Historically there is no evidence that Zinoviev tampered with Reed's speech. In the stenographic report of the Congress published by the Comintern in 1920, Reed calls on the Eastern peoples to "rise in revolt" against capitalist exploitation, but does not speak of "holy war" (or of "class war").

Zinoviev himself did call for "a holy war against the capitalists and plunderers," however, and this term was



Harvard

Gregory Zinoviev (sealed second from left) at 1920 Baku Congress.

used repeatedly in the manifesto of the Baku Congress. This formulation—indefensible in the program of the communists, projecting a national/religious movement rather than class struggle against the exploiters—did not represent Comintern policy. In marked contrast to pre-1914 social democracy, which at best ignored the struggles of the colonial masses against imperialism, the Communist International at its Second Congress in 1920 (shortly before Baku) called for Communist proletarian leadership of the struggle for national emancipation. Moreover, the early Communist parties of the East were militantly anti-clerical. For example, during the short-lived Gilan Soviet Republic of 1920-21, the Persian Communists forcibly un veiled women and closed down mosques. One may question the tactical wisdom of such actions, which were also massively undertaken by Muslim

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Tear Down Reagan's Racist Concentration Camps!

Free Haitian Refugees!

Nowhere has Reagan racism been more evident these days than in the mass jailings of thousands of desperate black Haitian refugees fleeing a brutal U.S.-backed dictatorship.

As the KKK-endorsed president Ronald Reagan tries to rev up the anti-Soviet war machine and instill anti-Communist prejudice in the working class by declaring "Solidarność Days" and welcoming Polish defectors, Haitian immigrants are being stashed in desolate concentration camps. They're carted off to the subarctic temperatures of the federal prison in Otisville, New York, to barren dirt holding pens at Fort Allen in "sunny Puerto Rico" or left to rot at the Krome Avenue detention center on the edge of the swampy Everglades of Florida. There they are left to the whims of club-wielding, trigger-happy Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) guards, riot police and rent-a-cops.

Over 2,500 Haitians are being held indefinitely in 17 locations throughout the U.S. Public outcry has focused on two centers of refugee unrest, the Krome Avenue facility in Miami and Puerto Rico's Fort Allen. Conditions at "Camp Krome" are so bad that one witness said he had "even seen people showering in the urinals." Like many other camps, Krome has been the scene of protest demonstrations. And despite heavy crackdowns by security police, a small number have managed to escape over the three rows of chain-link fence and razor-sharp concertina wire which surrounds the compound.

At Fort Allen where 800 refugees are being held, the repression is even worse. On December 19, about 200 refugees charged the fenced cages to display their anger at the unannounced construction of additional barbed-wire fencing around the sleeping quarters of the Haitians. Following this, all those living inside the compound locked themselves into camp quarters and refused to leave until demands for improved medical care, better food and an end to repression were met. A small army of 500 guards occupies Fort Allen, and on December 28 an additional 100 were sent in to further increase the police state apparatus.

It's a measure of the hellish conditions in Haiti that its refugees risk their lives in flimsy 20-foot boats on the high seas to make the 800-mile journey to U.S. shores. Haiti, a country of 6 million, is being bled dry by a combination of U.S. multinationals and their front man, the



Ficara/Newsweek

Reagan welcomes Polish "freedom fighters" and Cuban gusanos while persecuting desperate blacks fleeing Duvalier's terror.

corrupt Duvalier, who has amassed a fortune estimated at \$600 million. Principal exports are baseballs and blood plasma, and the average per capita income is \$135, the lowest in the Western Hemisphere. Only 20 percent of the population is literate. Above all, the desperate Haitian poor are seeking to escape the dreaded Tontons Macoutes, the secret police of "Baby Doc's" dictatorship.

In the last several months, the U.S. has ordered the Coast Guard to patrol the waters off Florida to prevent the black Haitians from reaching the American shore. Simultaneously Reagan began the policy of mass internment in de facto concentration camps in preparation for mass deportations. By trying to make a distinction between "economic" and "political" refugees, the U.S. welcomes Cuban *gusanos* including terrorists and criminals as "victims of Communism," while the terrorized black Haitians are repulsed for seeking to escape one of the worst tyrannical dictatorships in the world—because it's a U.S. puppet.

It's also blatant racism. "If I were white, they would let me free," one inmate at Fort Allen told a *Newsweek* reporter, a theme that was repeated constantly. The combination of racism and anti-Communism was protested in an editorial by the New York black establishment weekly *Amsterdam News* (2 January):

"What is it about the Reagan Administration that it can be so indignant about Poland and so concerned about the welfare of Poles while it is so hard-hearted about Haitians? Are not these desperate Black men and women human? Are not their lives worth saving? Why the difference?... 'The Poles who will be welcomed to these shores will be hailed as freedom-fighters. They will be living proof of the superiority of the capitalist system. The Haitians have no propaganda value in the east-west conflict. The Haitians—and the Black South Africans are another example of America's hypocritical concern with political liberty—are not abused by a Communist tyrant. They are Black, unskilled and illiterate.'"

Should Haitians attempt to overthrow the brutal Duvalier dictatorship, they suffer even harsher consequences. So after 25 opposition leaders attempted an uprising, seizing the small island of Tortuga off Haiti's northern coast, they were arrested by the U.S. and hauled off into court on charges of violating the 1794 Neutrality Act. Meanwhile, more than 1,000 right-wing

heavily armed Nicaraguan *somocistas* and thousands of Cuban *gusanos* are allowed and even encouraged to openly train in camps in Florida and California. For the U.S. is actively fomenting counterrevolution in Sandinista Nicaragua and talking of again blockading Cuba, while capitalist butcher Duvalier is part of the "free world."

An increasing number of protests have sprung up across the country recently. In New York on January 2, the Spartacist League participated in a spirited march down Brooklyn's Eastern Parkway carrying signs which read, "Free Haitians from Reagan's Concentration Camps," "Reagan Welcomes Gusano Scum, Deports Haitian Blacks" and "Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign Workers." In addition, an SL chant, "A bas Duvalier—pouvoir ouv-

rier!" (Down with Duvalier, Workers Power!) was vigorously picked up by many of the more than 2,000 marchers.

The general political aim of the Haitian support movement is to pressure the U.S. government to provide a "human rights" solution to Haitian oppression. As we have pointed out, "human rights" is a hopeless illusion under the likes of Duvalier or any other neo-colonial puppet. And the chances of pressuring Reagan to in any way better their lot are nil. The misery and extreme impoverishment of this eroded island hell are such, however, that only the tiniest working class has been able to form. The liberation of Haiti can come about only through a struggle that extends to the Dominican Republic (where in 1965 the Santo Domingo masses rose up against the U.S.-imposed junta), to the rest of the Caribbean (notably Puerto Rico and Cuba) and to the centers of Haitian immigration in North America. Workers revolution in the U.S. is key to breaking the chains which enslave the Haitian masses.

The Spartacist League calls for "Asylum for Haitian Refugees—No Deportations!" and for immediately freeing all the inmates of Reagan's racist concentration camps. However, once in the U.S., the refugees, who are without any rights, become prey for labor contractors who are establishing a growing slave trade in migrant farm workers. Thus the SL's call for full citizenship rights for foreign workers is vital for working-class unity, overcoming national and ethnic hatreds, as well as combating bourgeois chauvinist hysteria. International labor solidarity is essential to bring down Reagan and smash puppet dictatorships like those of Duvalier. ■

Strange Things Under Harvard's Rocks

Subscribers to WV will be receiving the latest issue of *Young Spartacus* (No. 97, February 1982), the monthly newspaper of the Spartacist Youth League (SYL). YSp documents how the "gentlemen of Harvard" tried but failed to throw SYLer Keith Menning behind bars for defending free speech when an SYL forum was attacked by virulent anti-Communists. The article uncovers the dirty business of "the Corporation," from the sinister Kennedy School of Government and *Crimson* racism to napalm and the legal murder of Sacco and Vanzetti. As YSp points out, Harvard's "reputation as one of the most insufferably arrogant, repressive, racist, anti-union and sexist institutions is well earned."

We are sure that WV subscribers will want to read this excellent and important article.

Young Spartacus

Strange Things Under Harvard's Rocks



And we hope that those who do not already have a subscription to YSp will examine this issue and subscribe now to the press of the SYL: "As a Marxist organization we fight capitalist imperialism down the line, from the intellectual pretensions of their heugthy epologists to their assaults on democratic rights to their long-standing commitment to racial and sexual inequality."

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Breaks with Moscow Over Poland

Italian CP Dances to Reagan's Tune

MILANO—The open break of the Italian Communist Party (PCI) with Moscow, precipitated by the suppression of Solidarność counterrevolutionary bid for power in Poland, means that the largest Communist party in West Europe has now affirmed its *undivided* loyalty to its own bourgeoisie and more generally to NATO imperialism. This has been recognized by the imperialists themselves and by the Kremlin, which last week issued a hard-hitting denunciation of their former Italian comrades for "direct aid to imperialism."

At the same time, the level of *internal* opposition to the PCI's pro-imperialist line on Poland is quite significant. As we reported earlier: "...at the base, in the factories, Italian workers overwhelmingly *refused* to heed the Eurocommunists' calls for strikes and demonstrations in 'solidarity with Solidarność'" ("We Won't Strike for the Madonna of Czestochowa," *WV* No. 296, 8 January). The large number of articles in the party press polemicizing against its own members indicates clearly the central leadership feels unsafe and is worried about a pro-Soviet split. Thus important opportunities are opened up among the PCI ranks for authentic Trotskyists, who called for stopping Solidarność, the company union of Pope Wojtyla and the CIA.

A central committee meeting in mid-January made it clear that the PCI tops had definitively aligned themselves with the "free world" in defense of "freedom and democracy" for East Europe. In fact, the propaganda now coming out of the Botteghe Oscure (PCI headquarters in Rome) is practically indistinguishable from that of the U.S. State Department. And the imperialists certainly are appreciative. Berlinguer's anti-Soviet speech at the "European Parliament" on December 17 was greeted with a storm of applause. To underscore the message, that same day PCI "anti-terrorist" expert Pecchioli went to Verona to express his solidarity with the NATO high command over the kidnapping of Vietnam war criminal General Dozier by the Red Brigades.

Some hard-line Cold Warriors have favorably contrasted Berlinguer's outspoken anti-Sovietism with the response of the West German Social Democrats, who for their own reasons have kept a low tone over Poland. *New York Times* columnist Flora Lewis, whose views often parallel those of the CIA, wrote on December 20:

"About the sharpest and most clear-cut stand of a Western leader on the East-West undertones of the Polish crisis came, surprisingly, from the Italian Communist leader Enrico Berlinguer.

He called the Polish coup 'the end of an epoch' and said nobody could look East any longer for inspiration or support in transforming society."

And the influential arch-conservative London *Economist* (23 January) asks, "Has Italy's Communist Party defected?" It answers: "The evidence of a genuine change within the Italian Communist Party is far too considerable to be dismissed."

Certainly the Kremlin thinks the PCI has now defected to Western imperialism. An authoritative unsigned article in

were CIA agents. The Kremlin enjoys a wide audience for its Italian-language publications, particularly *Tempi Nuovi*, which frequently runs articles critical of Berlinguer's Eurocommunist line (e.g., "Resistance Veterans Meet in Genoa").

A pro-Moscow split of some sort is certainly possible. The real question is whether this would be a significant split, seriously weakening the PCI's role as the mass reformist party of the Italian working class or would result in little more than a glorified Italy-USSR Friendship Society. This depends on a

order to bring Italy under the heel of U.S. imperialism. During the 1960s the pre-Eurocommunist PCI was justly hated by practically every young worker militant as the bosses' watchdog. The PCI's role in suppressing the revolutionary opportunity opened up by the 1969 "Hot Autumn" was a historic betrayal, if anything, greater than Berlinguer's present line on Poland. And the Kremlin Stalinists like Cossutta carried out that betrayal arm in arm with the future Eurocommunists.

Large sections of the Italian CP,

PCI leader Enrico Berlinguer speaks for NATO Imperialism, but Italian workers reply: "We won't strike for the black madonna of Czestochowa."



the 24 January *Pravda* charges Berlinguer & Co. with "a serious blow to the struggle of the people for peace and against war threats." It went on:

"Whose class interest does all this serve? In today's world it means a direct help to imperialism, which for decades now has been trying to weaken socialism, to shake and ideologically undermine it, a help to anti-Communism and to all those forces generally hostile to the cause of social progress." [emphasis in original]

—*L'Unità*, 25 January

The Italian ruling class has been quick to express "national solidarity" with their fellow Italians, albeit "Communists," against the Russian bear. The various bourgeois formations and big capitalist press have been almost unanimous in greeting the PCI's stance. They understand that now that the PCI finally has made a clean break with Moscow, thus ceasing to be Stalinist, a whole new range of parliamentary combinations becomes possible. For the troubled Italian bourgeoisie, which has had 41 governments in the 36 years since the end of World War II (a record probably second only to coup-ridden Bolivia), this offers the chance to shackle the powerful and militant working class by giving the PCI a few government ministries and a more active role in the day-to-day administration of the capitalist system.

A Pro-Moscow Split?

At the highest levels of the PCI leadership there was only a single dissent from Berlinguer's Poland line, by Kremlin loyalist Armando Cossutta, in charge of local administration. But pro-Moscow elements are strewn throughout the apparatus, and in the ranks sympathy for the Soviet Union is widespread. The more militant section of the PCI includes the so-called "Afghans," who supported the Red Army's intervention against the feudalist guerrillas and opposed Berlinguer & Co.'s pro-NATO line. The Moscow bureaucrats know the Italian party inside out. For example, in 1970 it was the Kremlin which informed the PCI leadership that unbeknownst to them two members of the central apparatus

number of factors. Among them is the ability of Moscow to capture a sizable section of Emilia-Romagna and Toscana ("Red Belt") PCI apparatus, perhaps through lucrative trade links between various cooperatives and small concerns and the Soviet economy.

But in addition to old Stalinist hacks and a smattering of careerists, a pro-Soviet split would also attract genuine leftist militants. For that very reason it would be an unstable formation. Moscow remains committed to "peaceful coexistence" with the Italian bourgeoisie. And any leftist posture by a Moscow Stalinist Italian party would embarrass the Kremlin's attempt to weaken the Atlantic alliance by playing off the "peace-loving" Europeans against Reagan's America.

While Italy's pro-Moscow Stalinists are now mouthing "anti-imperialist" rhetoric, they remain no less treacherous enemies of proletarian revolution and genuine internationalism than the Eurocommunists à la Berlinguer. Among the "Afghans" are some of the same partisan leaders who both fought Mussolini and then at the end of World War II *disarmed* Communist workers in

concentrated in the Italian proletariat, remain pro-Soviet and profoundly anticlerical. They know all too well that Reagan's aggressive support for Solidarność is part and parcel of his campaign for nuclear war with the USSR to be fought in Europe. Indicative of this attitude is the success of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia, sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, which despite its small size has been able to sell more than 900 copies of a 32-page pamphlet, "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution," mainly to PCI industrial workers.

Communist militants repelled by Berlinguer's embrace of NATO imperialism over Poland will find no alternative in the pro-Moscow Stalinist "Old Guard" who disarmed the Italian proletariat after World War II and paved the way for Berlinguer's "Historic Compromise" with Christian Democracy and NATO. One of the most important opportunities in the history of postwar European Stalinism now exists to appeal to the base of the PCI with the Trotskyist program of uncompromising proletarian internationalism. ■

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—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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Fake-Trotskyists Split

Son of Perón Leaves Son of Mitterrand

It was a marriage of convenience that just became inconvenient. The fake-Trotskyist conglomerate which called itself the Parity Committee and later the "Fourth International (International Committee)"—their quotation marks—has ceased to exist, as Argentine filibusterer Nahuel Moreno and French social democrat Pierre Lambert parted ways late last year. The principals now profess incompatibility on a whole host of issues. The Morenoites assert that Lambert's Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) opportunistically capitulates to the popular-front French government of François Mitterrand. The Lambertists denounce Moreno's Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST) for making a mockery of international democratic centralism by opening a factional center in Paris. Who could deny these charges? And who could pretend to be surprised? As we wrote in an article under the heading "Son of Mitterrand Meets Son of Perón":

"...the OCI is a staid social-democratic organization with a pronounced case of Stalinophobia, while Moreno is an adventurer setting out to build a personal international with a program of infiltrating all manner of 'Third World' nationalist-bonapartist regimes.... Here is the fake-Trotskyist rotten bloc of all times."

—WV No. 147, 11 January 1980

Barely two years later, the Parity/International Committee simply came apart at the seams, producing a cold split between Moreno's former Bolshevik Faction and Lambert's previous Organizing Committee. But you can't teach old opportunists new tricks. So in December Lambert launched an "International Reconstruction Committee" and proclaimed the OCI (which had



"Caudillo" Moreno (left) and right-wing social democrat, Pierre Lambert.



Revolución Proletaria Photos

movement was that which occurred with the formation of the Third International after the victory of the Russian Revolution...."

—quoted in *Critique Communiste*, December 1981

The Theses adopted at this meeting were bombastically praised as "the most important document since the Transitional Program" of Leon Trotsky. Yet today Moreno belatedly notes that they lack a section on the question of the popular front—which Trotsky defined as "the main question of proletarian class strategy for this epoch"—and Lambert admits that their lash-up never functioned on the basis of democratic centralism. It was, as we put it, one more episode in the game of fake-Trotskyist musical chairs. And now the music has begun again.

Opportunist Operators Run Amok

The ostensible political issues in the Moreno-Lambert split are less interesting than the organizational dirty dealing. Having suddenly discovered that "we and the OCI do not agree on a

October *Correspondance Internationale* publicly. Moreno's lieutenants in France were decreed to have "placed themselves outside the framework" of their International Committee—i.e., to have expelled themselves. Former members of the Bolshevik Faction were simply chucked out of the OCI. Any pretext would do. When a Moreno supporter in eastern France said Lambert was a revisionist/reformist, a circular to local organizers replied: "There is no possible discussion or differences. Revisionist or reformist—either way it's a declaration of war to the death.... He doesn't have a place in the OCI. Out!" Another provincial Morenoite was expelled for "attempting to lead [an OCI militant] into error" (from Moreno's *Correspondance Internationale* No. 14, November 1981).

Lambert's idea of an "international" has always been a federated rotten bloc. His earlier "International Committee" (1963-72) with Gerry Healy never even agreed if it was the Fourth International or for the reconstruction of the FI. It simply separated into its French and

on a 'left' basis when an appropriate opportunity presents itself."

—"Rotten Blocs Shatter United Secretariat," WV No. 245, 7 December 1979

"Critical" vs. Uncritical Support to the Popular Front

Moreno sniffed the scent of opportunity with the election of Socialist Party leader Mitterrand as French president last May 10. Soon after, in a July 13 letter to Lambert, he denounced the OCI's policy as "almost total, not critical, support to a popular-front government." They then went semi-public with the controversy in October, attacking each other with veiled epithets and threats. Following the standards of pseudo-Trotskyist milieus in which a polemic is judged to be weighty according to the number of pounds of paper consumed, "Miguel Capa" weighed in for the Moreno camp with 15,700 words against opportunism on the popular front. "François Forgeu" responded with 12,000 words defending the OCI policy, and Stéphane Just added another 5,000 justifying support for Mitterrand's nationalizations. Altogether it took up 20 solid pages of their international organ...and within the month the "Fourth International (International Committee)" was no more.

All the verbose obfuscations simply belabored the obvious, namely that Lambert & Co. are in no sense an opposition to the present French administration, but at most a pressure group and more often just Trotskyoid *mitterrandistes*. The OCI seldom attacks the government as such, even in the most "moderate" tones. And when it does, it almost never refers to the Mitterrand/Mauroy regime as a popular front, i.e., as a bourgeois coalition of class collaboration. At an OCI mass rally last fall, Lambert summed up his policy: "Yes we say it: the PS-PCF [Socialist/Communist] majority has the means to throw back the capitalists and the bankers.... The government has the means. The PS-PCF majority in the National Assembly has the means" (*Informations Ouvrières*, 24-31 October 1981). To call this parliamentarianist cretinism would be too generous. The Lambertists' main activity these days is building illusions in Ronald Reagan's No. 1 anti-Soviet ally on the European continent!

So what's new? The OCI has been slavishly tailing social democracy for years. In 1975-76 Lambert beat the drums for the (CIA-aided) Portuguese Socialists as they spearheaded a counterrevolutionary mobilization against the CP. And the best example of OCI policy toward the ruling pop front coalition in France was its election line, calling for a vote to Mitterrand on the first round and violently denouncing the PCF as agents of Moscow and Giscard for running a candidate at all. In the June parliamentary vote, the OCI called for support to the popular-front majority, and it hailed Mitterrand's election as nothing less than "the political victory of the working class" (*Correspondance Internationale*, October 1981). Yet Moreno *hailed* this electoral support to the popular front as "a good example" of Trotskyist policy! The small group of *morenoistas* in Los Angeles, for example, published an article praising "The Revolutionary Policy of the OCI and the French Elections" (*El Bolchevique*, August 1981).

Before July, you see, Moreno was walking hand-in-hand with Lambert. Now it discovers the OCI's capitulation

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Bare/Rush-Young



Cambio 16

Ex-bloc partners united in support of Reagan's Polish company union, Solidarność: Lambertist OCI in Paris (left), Morenoite PST in Madrid.

been losing members ever since Mitterrand took office) the Parti Communiste Internationaliste. Meanwhile, the French Morenoites sent a letter to the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR)—section of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (USec), from which Moreno split in 1979—proposing "common action to build the revolutionary party."

You didn't have to be a fortune teller, or even a Marxist, to tell that the Moreno/Lambert match was not made in heaven. But for these hucksters the road to success was to repeat ever more extravagant claims, no matter how absurd. In December 1980, when Moreno and Lambert rebaptized themselves the International Committee, the OCI leader boasted:

"In one year we have made a leap forward as has never before happened in the history of the Fourth International. The only comparable leap forward in the history of the international workers

single line and not even on a slogan" (letter by Moreno to the Spanish POSI, 17 October 1981). The Morenoites proposed to open an office in Paris and staff it with 10 PSTers so that they could agitate among the OCI ranks. Adding insult, they called on the OCI to pay for this factional center and to supply them with 1,000 copies of the October issue of the "International Committee" paper (containing a lengthy Moreno polemic against OCI policies toward Mitterrand). The Morenoites' "equal time" offer, to let ten Lambertists run around visiting clandestine PST locals until the junta catches them, was pure cynicism. And meanwhile, the Argentine adventurer proclaims his undying love for Lambert, "the most talented Trotskyist leader I have known!"

As is their wont, the Lambertists responded to this cynical provocation with bureaucratic repression. OCIers were forbidden to sell the notorious

English components (with their respective satellites) at the first disagreement over the domestic policies of one of the bloc partners, in this case Lambert's Bolivian associate Lora. The "Organizing Committee" (1972-77) also split along national lines when the OCI disagreed with Lora's Argentine followers over Peronism. And now the Parity/International Committee (1979-81) has suffered an identical fate as Moreno turned the tables on Lambert, using the OCI's policies toward Mitterrand as the pretext. Rather than struggling to forge a genuinely Trotskyist international party, such unprincipled combinations always fall apart when one partner tries to intrude on the other's national "turf." As for Moreno, our earlier description still stands:

"For some time now this Argentine political *bandolero* had been sneaking up on Mandel, scurrying through the bushes and then hiding under the skirts of a larger group, only to break from it

What Next for Poland?

(continued from page 1)

explain how it was suppressed so easily. Journalists now point out that Solidarność leaders were overconfident, believed the government would never dare use force against them and so made no preparations to counter it. Many acted as if they already enjoyed government office.

But delusions of grandeur at the top do not explain the passivity at the base. Some Western journalists attribute this to fear of Soviet military intervention; others talk of the Poles' traditional respect for the army. Such explanations are at best superficial. Evidence suggests that even before December 13 the wave of popular support for Solidarność was receding. People had begun to realize that endless strikes and demonstrations were only making the desperate economic conditions worse. At the famous December 3 Radom meeting, where Solidarność leaders planned the overthrow of the government, Karol Modzelewski insisted:

"The trade union has not become stronger; it has become weaker, much weaker. And all activists are aware of this.... There are several reasons for this: weariness as a result of the crisis, weariness experienced by people waiting at the end of a line. Some people blame us for the prolongation of this state of affairs and want us to reach an agreement."

—Washington Post, 20 December 1981

According to a colleague who was not interned, the prominent social-

Solidarność and then gave up be explained simply by tiredness after 16 months of crisis? Public reaction to the government's exposure of the Radom tapes ("Radomgate") point to another important factor. Western journalists all agree that this was a big propaganda coup for the Jaruzelski regime. Many Poles were genuinely shocked to hear Walesa say that "the confrontation is unavoidable" and that "we are bringing this system down." And then there was the Solidarność congress last September with its provocative "free elections"/"free trade unions" resolutions. One liberal party member said that a military operation against Solidarność wouldn't have succeeded a year ago:

"Six months earlier, I myself would have turned in my [party] card. It was by no means obvious then that Solidarity was opting for a confrontation. Only the hard-liners expected it. They maintained that we were fooling ourselves. The pity of it is that on this point they were proved right. They kept saying you are facing people who don't want to reform socialism—they hate socialism."

—New York Times, 5 January

While millions rallied to Solidarność as an oppositional movement, many pulled back from supporting it in a bid for power. They had no confidence that Solidarność offered a way out of the crisis. The organization had become increasingly faction-ridden and unstable. It was split between so-called "radicals," like Rulewski and Bujak, who wanted a confrontation no matter what, and the moderates, like Walesa and Kuron, who hoped to take power gradually. It was also split between the open advocates of capitalist restoration, like the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN), and those whose pro-imperialist appetites were cloaked in rhetoric of "self-management." Millions of Poles must have wondered whether a government of Walesa, Rulewski & Co. would only perpetuate and deepen the social anarchy and economic collapse.

Nevertheless, if a certain disillusionment with Solidarność has set in, the Polish working masses remain deeply hostile to the corrupt Stalinist bureaucracy, which has ruined the economy. And Jaruzelski's "state of war" cannot make Polish workers love their rulers. Moreover, even Moscow is reportedly becoming a little uneasy over army rule in Poland. The *New York Times* (2 January) noted:

"The Kremlin has made no secret of its discomfort at the party's loss of effective power to a military council, the first time that any Eastern European country has had to move the Communist apparatus aside."

Already at the time of the crackdown we warned of the danger of military bonapartism. This was one of the most ominous aspects of the Chinese "Cultural Revolution" when Lin Piao's People's Liberation Army essentially took over administration of the country. At that time a succession clause was written into China's constitution which made the selection of the pope look like

an exercise in participatory democracy. As we wrote in "Power Bid Spiked" (*WV* No. 295, 18 December 1981):

"The Stalinists only make hypocritical reference to socialist forms, the acknowledgment that vice gives to virtue. But compared to the naked armed fist, those forms are important."

The military crackdown against Solidarność has been a cold shower for the Polish masses. The bankruptcy of the Stalinist bureaucrats, who have ruined the country economically, is clear as day. The intoxication of Solidarność clerical-nationalism, which took Poland to the brink of counterrevolution, is beginning to wear off. Many are seeking new answers, and some will be open to the authentically communist program of the Leninist-Trotskyists, the Spartacists, who demanded "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!" while fighting for a proletarian political revolution to oust the parasitic bureaucracy.

A tremendous political/psychological shakeup has taken place in Poland. Suddenly Polish society has been arrested, just plain stopped. But the repression has not gone so deep as to prevent the emergence of an underground opposition. Petitions for an end

throughout the tsarist empire. The anti-nationalist tradition of the party Proletariat was taken over in the next generation by the greatest Polish proletarian revolutionary leader of all, Rosa Luxemburg. Luxemburg rejected the struggle for an independent bourgeois-democratic Poland and fought for the overthrow of tsarist absolutism through the united struggle of Polish and Russian workers:

"...the idea of making an independent Poland into a buffer and a protective barrier for the West against the reactionary Russian tsardom was unrealizable, the development of capitalism, which had buried this idea in the first place, created in its place the revolutionary class movement of the united proletariat in Russia and Poland and in it a far more stalwart ally of the West, an ally that would not merely mechanically protect Europe from absolutism but would itself undermine and crush it."

—Foreword to the anthology "The Polish Question and the Socialist Movement" (1905), in *The National Question: Selected Writings by Rosa Luxemburg* (1976)

The political struggle between the internationalist Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania (SDKPiL) of Luxemburg and Leo



Phillipo/Sygma

Polish military cracks down on counterrevolutionary Solidarność.

to martial law circulate openly; well-known dissidents give interviews in the Western press; the state radio polemizes against underground Solidarność manifestos. Now is the time to start building educational and propagandistic cells of a Trotskyist vanguard to defend and extend the historic gains of socialized property, inherited from the October Revolution, by ousting the usurpers who undermine them and crushing those who would destroy them.

Real Polish Revolutionary Hero: Rosa Luxemburg

The present Polish situation could develop only in a political vacuum reflecting the destruction of the traditions of international communism in Poland through savage persecution—Polish Pilsudskite, German Nazi and Stalinist. The Western media now present Polish history through the distorting prism of Solidarność. The Polish nation is supposedly fanatically nationalistic, fervently religious, the most anti-communist of peoples. The regime, on the other hand, relegates the history of the Polish workers movement before 1945 to the academic realm. In reality Poland had one of the oldest and strongest traditions of Marxist proletarian socialism of any European country. A genuinely revolutionary vanguard must build on those internationalist traditions.

The first Marxist working-class party in the tsarist empire, the party Proletariat, was formed in Warsaw in the early 1880s. Significantly, Ludwik Waryński's Proletariat rejected the traditional Polish radical program of a national uprising and worked closely with the Russian populists for a social revolution

Jogiches and the nationalist Polish Socialist Party (PPS) of Josef Pilsudski dominated the pre-World War I Polish workers movement.

As Lenin insisted, Luxemburg was wrong to reject the bourgeois-democratic right of national self-determination, i.e., the right to a separate state, for Poland. Her dogmatic stubbornness on this question weakened her correct struggle against Pilsudski and chauvinist currents within the Polish working class. Yet she was right to insist that the fate of Poland was inextricably bound up with the proletarian class struggle in its oppressor nations, Russia and Germany. The creation of an independent Polish bourgeois state in 1918 was not the result of a national uprising but of the Bolshevik Revolution and Germany's defeat in World War I. Moreover, that defeat was in good measure caused by the rising of war-weary German workers with Luxemburg as one of their leaders. It is one of those ironies of history that Luxemburg's activities on behalf of the Russian and German revolutions contributed more to the national liberation of Poland than did Pilsudski's legionary movement.

Today both sides in the Polish crisis disdain Rosa Luxemburg, Poland's greatest representative of proletarian socialism. The clerical-nationalist Solidarność idealizes Luxemburg's arch-enemy, Pilsudski—and, moreover, not in his pre-1914 role as right-wing socialist but in his later incarnation as anti-Soviet militarist and fascist dictator. The Stalinists, too, have nothing in common with proletarian internationalism and desperately try to give themselves a "patriotic" coloration. Last fall for the first time the Jaruzelski regime celebrated the anniversary of the found-



Dietz

Rosa Luxemburg

democratic dissident Jacek Kuron predicted in early December a successful crackdown:

"The people, he said, were tired, they were longing for a rest, and it would not at all be difficult to intimidate them effectively. [He said] verbally: 'People will strike a little and then give up.'"

—Der Spiegel, 18 January

And that's exactly what happened.

But can the fact that workers—and not that many—struck a little for



Founders of Polish Communism (from left): Adolf Warski, Leo Jogiches, Julian Marchlewski.

ing of the bourgeois Polish republic on 11 November 1918. This national holiday is in fact a commemoration honoring Pilsudski.

But the Stalinist denigration of the great revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg is not peculiar to the Jaruzelski regime. As Trotsky wrote in the early 1930s:

"Yes, Stalin has sufficient cause to hate Rosa Luxemburg. But all the more imperious therefore becomes our duty to shield Rosa's memory from Stalin's calumny that has been caught by the hired functionaries of both hemispheres, and to pass on this truly beautiful, heroic, and tragic image to the young generations of the proletariat in all its grandeur and inspirational force."

—"Hands Off Rosa Luxemburg!" *Writings* [1932]

If Rosa Luxemburg remains unhonored in the Poland of Stalin and Solidarność, it is also because she was a Jew. For both the Walesas and Jaruzelskis, a Jew is not a "true" Pole. One of the ugliest and most grotesque aspects of the current crisis is the revival of Jew-baiting on both sides, although almost all Polish Jews were killed by the Nazis and the few remaining tens of thousands were driven out by the Stalinists in 1968. While the Stalinists dare not attack Pope Wojtyla's hierarchy, the real force behind Solidarność, they readily fabricate "Zionist plots." One target singled out in government propaganda is the Jewish social-democratic dissident Adam Michnik, a figure of no great influence in the present Solidarność line-up. Also a government radio program after the December 13 crackdown "exposed" the fact that Solidarność adviser Bronislaw Gemerek was the son of a Jewish religious teacher. But the hardened anti-Semites are on the other side. Even the *Wall Street Journal* admits that Leszek Moczulski's KPN, a strong faction in Solidarność, is "tainted by a history of anti-Semitism." And last fall the "radical" Solidarność leader in Szczecin, Marion Jurczyk, declared that three-quarters of the Communist party leadership were really Jews who had changed their names!

Before the Holocaust Jews played a very important role in the leadership of the Polish revolutionary workers movement, providing much of its internationalist élan and cosmopolitanism, acting as a barrier against social-patriotic influences. By "purifying" the Polish nation at Auschwitz and elsewhere, Adolf Hitler indirectly contributed to the utter wretchedness of postwar Polish Stalinism, the enormous influence of the Catholic church and the rise of the clerical-nationalist Solidarność.

The Tragedy of the Polish Communist Party

The Polish Communist Party was formed in late 1918 as a fusion between Luxemburg's SDKPiL and the Polish Socialist Party-Left, a large centrist party which had split from Pilsudski in the wake of the Revolution of 1905. The outlook animating these first Polish Communists is well described by Isaac

International Counterrevolution Day was a flop. They ran it up the flagpole and nobody saluted. But this U.S. imperialist provocation did manage to get 205 people arrested and 14 hurt in Gdansk, where Solidarność activists staged a simultaneous protest. Ronald Reagan had proclaimed January 30 a "Day of Solidarity with the People of Poland," featuring a 90-minute TV spectacular to be beamed by satellite to some 400 million viewers around the globe. Additional millions would hear the soundtrack over the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. It was supposed to be the biggest show on earth. There would be rallies across the U.S. and in European capitals. In particular, American labor leaders were to play a key role in this Cold War propaganda blitz, bought and paid for by the International Communications Agency.

The cast of "free world" rulers and their liberal/social-democratic/artistic hangers-on polluted the airwaves, all right. The whole hoary bunch from Reagan to "Iron Lady" Margaret Thatcher, Helmut Schmidt, François Mitterrand, Jeane Kirkpatrick, Henry Fonda, Frank Sinatra—piano players and prime ministers, defecting ambassadors and Soviet "dissidents" ad nauseum—all got up to denounce martial law in Poland. (Not a word about 30,000 murdered by U.S.-backed junta death squads in El Salvador, naturally.) They did a demonstration of jamming, disappearing Bob Hope into the TV "snow" (watch out, people may think it's a

Reagan's Counterrevolution Show

good idea!) Reagan, identifying himself as a "long-time union member" (what about busting PATCO?) and "former union president" (he ran the witchhunt in the Actors Guild), threatened "further steps" if conditions deteriorated in Poland. But it backfired.

The heavy-handed propaganda ploy annoyed the Europeans, while the AFL-CIO/Polish-American Congress rallies in the U.S. were duds. On TV they ran film of the New York demonstration (attendance: 2,000, tops), dubbing in a soundtrack of a large crowd cheering. In the U.S., it was left up to individual "Public Broadcasting System" affiliates whether or not to broadcast (many, if not most, did not). British broadcasters termed the anti-Communist extravaganza "bizarre"; BBC called it "the NATO show." Even *Time* magazine belched; taking off on the title, *Let Poland Be Poland*, it headlined: "Better to Let Poland Be?" Meanwhile, the Polish government countered with its own show featuring film clips of U.S. dirty work in Vietnam, Cuba and Iran.

The right-wing anti-Communism was so blatant it could not be disguised. The flagship rally was held in Chicago, in order to draw on the large Polish exile community. However, the crowd only half-filled the amphitheater. General Alexander Haig was there as featured speaker along with his labor lieutenant, Lane Kirkland. Haig delivered a "Hate Russia" diatribe. Kirkland quoted

from Patrick Henry (wild applause), Emiliano Zapata (applause) and a civil rights song (dead silence). He called for calling in the Polish debt, stopping credit to the Soviet bloc and embargoing grain to the Soviet Union. "It was the most right-wing event I've seen since I sneaked into a White Citizens Council rally 15 years ago," commented the *WV* reporter.

It was the same story everywhere. "The Day of Protest on Poland Gets Tepid Response in U.S." reported the *New York Times*. In New York, the ultra right-wing character of the protest (with more than a few down-right fascists present) was quite marked. There were the Moonies and their CARP, the Polish anti-Semitic KPN, the Russian fascist NTS ("Anti-Komunist Alliance"), the Afghan Association of Freedom Fighters, USA, and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, all there to cheer on Gotbaum, Shanker and the rest of the AFL-CIO sabre-rattlers. The crowd boomed out the Polish national hymn, but when it came to "God Bless America," nobody knew the words. January 30 being the anniversary of Franklin Roosevelt's birth, Central Labor Council chief Harry Van Arsdale asked for a moment of silent prayer for FDR. "What about Yalta?" responded the "captive nations" reactionaries.

The attempt to mobilize labor behind counterrevolutionary Solidarność must be opposed by all class-conscious workers. Down with Reagan's anti-Soviet sanctions! No to "AFL-CIA unionism!"

Deutscher in his important 1958 essay, "The Tragedy of the Polish Communist Party" (reprinted in *Marxism in Our Time* [1973]):

"The Party's ranks were further united by a sharp awareness of their common and unyielding opposition to the nationalist and reformist Poland, to the Poland of the landlords and petty nobility."

That opposition would soon be tested, and in the severest way. In early 1920 Pilsudski launched a war of conquest against Soviet Russia. There was no question that the Polish Communists would perform their internationalist duty, as they did. Deutscher explained:

"The Polish Party treated this war—as it had every reason to do—as a war of the Polish possessing classes (or of their decisive elements) against the Russian Revolution, and as an integral part of the capitalist powers' intervention in Russia. The Party felt it was at one with

the Russian Revolution and obliged to defend it."

In the early 1920s the pro-Soviet Communist Party was, on balance, stronger within the Polish working class than the Pilsudskiite social democrats. Moreover, there was a saying in the Comintern: "The German party is the largest; the Polish party is the best." In good part because of its roots in the revolutionary SDKPiL of Luxemburg, the Polish party offered more resistance to Stalinization than did any other large Comintern party. In December 1923 its central committee sent a letter of protest to the Russian party which stated: "... for our party, nay for the whole Comintern, for the whole revolutionary world proletariat the name of Comrade Trotsky is insolubly connected with the victory of the Soviet Revolution, with the Red Army, with communism"

(quoted in M.K. Dziewanowski, *The Communist Party of Poland* [1976]).

This is not to idealize the Polish Communist Party of the 1920s or the regime of the "three Ws" (Warski, Walecki, Wera Kostrzewa). In 1923 the Polish Communist leadership let slip a potentially revolutionary situation. A few years later they made a far graver error, this time one of commission. Momentarily overcome by the popular enthusiasm for Pilsudskiite bonapartism, Warski threw his party's support behind the marshal's coup in May 1926 (see "Pilsudski and Counterrevolution in Poland," *WV* No. 293, 20 November 1981). Yet the Polish Communists soon recovered from their "May mistake" and were the only opposition to the consolidating fascist dictatorship.

The political authority which the

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Polish October, 1956: Workers brought liberal Stalinist Wladyslaw Gomulka (speaking) to power.



Party headquarters burned in Gdansk during 1970 Polish workers revolt. Workers sang the Internationale.

What Next Poland?...

(continued from page 7)

Polish Communist Party gained through its heroic struggle against the right-wing dictatorship was soon squandered by Stalin's 1929 turn to "Third Period" adventurism. The party was prohibited from engaging in united action with the social democrats and peasant parties against the deepening white terror. In 1931-32 an opposition to this suicidal course emerged led by Isaac Deutscher. The Polish opposition was soon won to Trotskyism, centrally due to Trotsky's determined struggle for a united defense by the German proletariat against the menace of Nazism. While the Deutscher group was expelled from the Polish CP in 1932, the American Cold War historian Dziewanowski observes, "A pro-Trotsky undercurrent continued to remain a factor of some importance until the party's dissolution [in 1938], particularly among the Jewish membership."

When Hitler came to power in early 1933, the Trotskyist movement considered calling upon the Soviet Red Army to invade Germany before the Nazis could consolidate their regime and rearm. This would necessarily have violated Polish national independence, but this was a minor consideration when weighed against the historic interests of the world proletariat.

The growing white terror of the Pilsudskiite "regime of the colonels" forced ever larger numbers of Polish Communists to take refuge in the Soviet Union. While many foreign Communists were killed in the Great Purges of the late '30s, Stalin's war against the Polish party was exceptional, indeed unique. Practically all Polish Communists in Soviet territory were either physically liquidated or sent to concentration camps. Many Polish Communists were lured back under one or another pretext. The entire party leadership—Warski, Walecki, Wera Kostrzewa, Unsicht among others—was killed. In 1938 in an unprecedented act Stalin dissolved the entire Polish Communist Party as a "nest of Pilsudskiite-Trotskyites." Deutscher sought to explain Stalin's insane hatred for Polish Communism, his determination to destroy it root and branch:

"Stalin saw the Polish CP as the stronghold of hated Luxemburgism—the Polish variety of Trotskyism—which had defied him as long ago as 1923; the Party in which some leaders were close to Bukharin and others to Zinoviev; the Party of incurable heresies, proud of its traditions and its heroism...."

For Polish Trotskyism

One point all observers agree on is that the immediate origins of the present Polish crisis are to be found in the catastrophic economic mismanagement by the Gierk regime over the last decade. It's also clear that the level of

corruption and venality in the Polish bureaucracy is extreme even compared to the rest of the East European deformed workers states. This reflects Stalin's destruction of the Polish Communist Party, which meant that the governing apparatus put in place by the Soviet army after World War II had no connection with a revolutionary past to live down. Thus the bureaucracy that has run Poland ever since was recruited from simple opportunists and careerists. But the deeper origins of the Polish crisis lie in *Stalinism*, the attempt by a bonapartist bureaucracy to balance between imperialism and the working class, expressed in the dogma of "socialism in one country."

All the central problems facing Poland flow from the bureaucracy's narrow nationalist policies and particularly its conciliation and strengthening of the social base for counterrevolution. The ability of the peasantry to hold the country ransom lies in the failure to collectivize agriculture. The clerical-nationalist hold on Solidarność is rooted in the regime's attempt to find a *modus vivendi* with the Catholic church, which is rooted in the peasantry. The explosion over price increases which led to the Gdansk strike was the result of mortgaging the Polish economy to the Western bankers, who are now demanding their payoff. What's needed is not more concessions but a truly revolutionary, internationalist policy. And that requires the ouster of the Stalinist parasites through a proletarian political revolution, led by a Trotskyist vanguard.

The Polish workers' answer to the Stalin-era regime of police-state commandism was given in 1956 by the powerful proletarian revolt that began in Poznan (and helped spark the workers revolution in Hungary that same October). This forced an attempt to reform the regime through some kind of liberal Stalinism, using more individual incentives and loosening the screws of the repressive apparatus. This, too, failed—twice. The Polish proletariat repudiated Gomulka in the 1970 Baltic workers uprising and ousted Gierk with the 1980 shipyards strike. This also meant the end of illusions in liberal reform, and now pro-Western forces in and around Solidarność managed to win the support of the Polish masses. But their triumph would mean a calamity of epochal proportions, turning Gdansk into a Detroit with its unemployment lines and soup kitchens.

Moreover, counterrevolution on the banks of the Vistula would not be limited to Poland. It would immediately pose *capitalist* reunification of Germany and a thermonuclear imperialist world war, aimed at eradicating the Soviet degenerated workers state and the remaining conquests of the October Revolution of 1917. Only the Trotskyists have a program to root out the sources of counterrevolution, by returning to the authentic communism of Lenin and Luxemburg. Key elements of such a program to mobilize the Polish working class include:

Down with clericalism! For the strict

separation of church and state! As Rosa Luxemburg wrote in 1905: "The clergy, no less than the capitalist class, lives off the backs of the people, profits from the degradation, the ignorance and the oppression of the people" ("Socialism and the Churches"). Today the Vatican serves as a key instrument of Western imperialism, a central agency for capitalist counterrevolution. The core leadership of Solidarność around Lech Walesa came out of the church-backed "dissident" circles, and one of the famous 21 demands in the Gdansk strike was for broadcasting Catholic mass over state media—in effect establishing a state church. Moreover, the Polish army is the only one in East Europe to have Catholic chaplains.

Kuron and other Solidarność leaders have called for a tripartite government including the Catholic hierarchy. Washington, Wall Street and social democracy are united in seeking to restore the Roman church to its medieval dominance over Polish social life. And seeking to conciliate Pope Wojtyla, the Stalinists may well adopt some of its reactionary social programs—such as restricting or eliminating women's right to abortions. The separation of church and state is a historic gain of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, yet today only the Trotskyists fight for it.

For the collectivization of agriculture! For decades the Polish economy has been wracked by the contradiction between a backward smallholding agriculture and a rapidly expanding industry. Government food subsidies have been an ever-greater drain on the entire economy. Yet Rural Solidarity's attempts to eliminate state marketing would not only go against the immediate economic interests of the working class, through vastly higher prices, but it would also strengthen the danger of counterrevolution. An immediate, key task for a revolutionary workers government in Poland would be to promote the collectivization of agriculture.

For trade unions independent of bureaucratic control and based on defense of socialized property! This is an integral part of the Trotskyist program to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy. And it has nothing in common with the slogan of "free trade unions," which has long been a battle cry of NATO imperialism. At the start of the Cold War, the fanatically anti-Communist U.S. labor bureaucracy set up the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in closest collaboration with the CIA. Polish workers must understand that narrow, economist trade unionism is *not possible* in a collectivized economy. Any redistribution of income requires wresting control of economic administration from the Stalinist bureaucracy. And Polish workers must implacably oppose "AFL-CIA unionism," committing their organizations to defend socialized property and proletarian state power against imperialism.

Cancel the imperialist debt! To meet Poland's present enormous indebtedness to the imperialists would mean years of severe austerity. Yet the Solidarność leaders call for Poland to join the International Monetary Fund, the Western bankers cartel. The IMF would bleed Polish workers no less savagely than it does "Third World" workers. Desiring to maintain social peace in its important ally, the Kremlin has, at least indirectly, shelled out ever larger sums to pay Poland's debts to Wall Street. It is not our task as proletarian revolutionists to advise the Warsaw bureaucrats on how to get out of the hole they are in. But a Trotskyist leadership would immediately cancel the imperialist debt and appeal to the workers of West Europe and the U.S. to combat the inevitable imperialist retaliation.

For international socialist economic planning! Solidarność leaders have expressed admiration for Western capitalism and called for the reprivatization of a significant sector of the

economy. They have demanded the abolition of central planning in favor of autonomous "self-managed" enterprises operating on the basis of market competition. In Poland's present economic conditions, this would immediately bankrupt hundreds of enterprises throwing hundreds of thousands, if not millions of workers into the streets. It would also enormously facilitate imperialist economic penetration. The goal must be not to return to the anarchy of the market but to give the working class democratic control over the economy which can only be realized through central planning by soviet power, with factory committees to monitor production and consumer cooperatives to monitor quality and price of commodities. Polish workers must look toward a Socialist United States of Europe in which a united Soviet Germany will be an industrial motor force.

For soviet democracy, not bourgeois parliamentarism! For proletarian political revolution! Just hours before the imposition of martial law, Solidarność called for a referendum to overthrow the Communist government and replace it with a government based on "free elections." In present Polish conditions such elections would have led to the victory of a clerical-nationalist party, which would attempt to restore capitalism, or perhaps have led to an anarchic outcome. In either case, civil war would be posed pointblank. The Polish working class must fight for the rule of soviets (workers councils) as in the Russian Revolution of 1917. Soviet democracy should encompass those parties, chosen by the workers and their allies, which stand for and defend a socialist order.

Defend the USSR against imperialism! For the revolutionary unity of Polish and Soviet workers! Walesa & Co. saw themselves leading the entire Polish nation, supported by Western imperialism, against "Russian Communism." The "appeal" by the Solidarność congress last September to Soviet workers was a provocative declaration of solidarity with Reagan's "free world." This was readily understood not only by the Kremlin bureaucrats but also by the Soviet working masses. Western journalists all report that the Soviet man-in-the-street has no sympathy for Solidarność and what it stands for.

The revolutionary tradition of Polish/Russian working-class solidarity represented by Rosa Luxemburg is crucial to the reforging of Polish Trotskyism. A Polish proletarian political revolution must be extended to the USSR and the rest of the Soviet bloc or it will be crushed. But Polish workers cannot appeal to their Soviet class brothers, who lost 20 million people fighting the Nazis in World War II (600,000 of them in Poland), unless they assure them that a workers Poland will defend the Soviet Union against imperialism. The Soviet people know that U.S. imperialism's ambition is "rollback": the transformation of East Europe into hostile imperialist-allied states, extending NATO to the Soviet border as the prelude to capitalist restoration in the USSR itself. A Polish workers government must be a military bastion against NATO!

In his essay on "The Tragedy of the Polish Communist Party," Isaac Deutscher stressed as his main conclusion: "If the history of the Polish CP and of Poland at large proves anything at all, it proves how indestructible is the link between the Polish and Russian revolutions." Today it is necessary to revive the tradition of Lenin and Luxemburg, of revolutionary unity of the Polish and Russian proletariat. Today this must be directed against the Stalinist bureaucracies, in defense of the collectivized economies and proletarian state power against imperialism. That tradition and program will be carried forward by a Polish Trotskyist vanguard, section of a reborn Fourth International. Now is the time to lay the roots of a Trotskyist vanguard in Poland. ■

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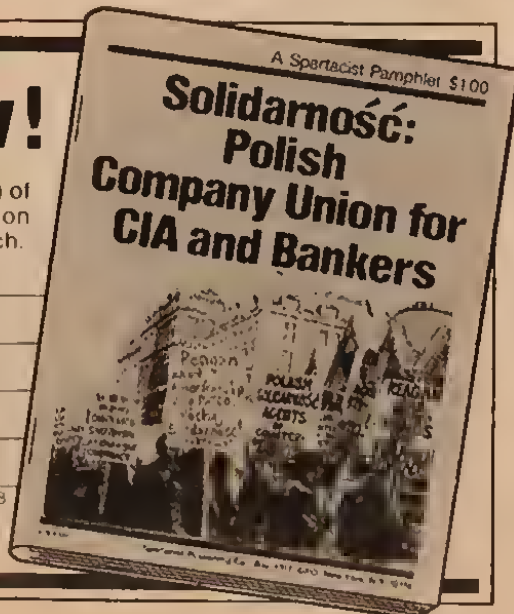
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At L.A. Salvador Demo

CISPES Exclusion Backfires

LOS ANGELES—About 35 thugs from CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador) launched a premeditated attack on a Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League contingent at the El Salvador protest here January 23. In a fit of anti-communist frenzy over the SL/SYL banners "Military Victory to the Left-Wing Insurgents" and "Defense of the USSR and Cuba Begins in El Salvador," the CISPES goons attacked our contingent in order to block us from the march. But they failed to disperse our contingent, which not only remained solid but dealt some well-deserved blows to the thugs. The cowardly all-male CISPES squad seemed most interested in assaulting our female comrades, but they were unable to inflict any injuries.

While CISPES threatened to call the racist LAPD to enforce our exclusion, the fake left scrambled to line up behind CISPES and the popular front. Workers Power and the "Trend" eagerly joined the goon squad, while the SWP/YSA cooperatively stepped aside at the goons' request to give the thugs operating room. YWLLers caught in the melee screamed, "Get the Sparts, not us."

But we enforced our democratic rights despite this thug attack by firmly implanting our banner and contingent in a prominent place at the final



Los Angeles, January 23: CISPES goon attack on SL contingent can't silence call for victory to Salvadoran leftist insurgents.

rallying point in MacArthur Park. Loudly chanting "One, two, three, four, leftist rebels win the war!" and "Five, six, seven, eight, defend the Soviet workers state!" our contingent drew a sharp political line against the waterboys for the Democratic Party. And the linked arms of the CISPES goons were unable to seal off the

demonstrators from the SL's revolutionary line. Over 110 items of Spartacist literature were sold to the crowd of under 1,200. One of the marshals tore off his yellow armband and came over to us, while another CISPES supporter protested vigorously to the rally organizers, saying: "I've known the SL for years and they are no disrupters

and they do not initiate violence. This is disgusting."

In sharp contrast to the SL/SYL's principled stand, the Los Angeles group which calls itself the Revolutionary Workers Front, followers of the Argentine adventurer Nahuel Moreno, abstractly polemicizes against the reformist "political solution" in El Salvador but capitulates to the popular front in practice. At this and every El Salvador protest the L.A. Morenites duck political confrontation with the reformists by cowardly disappearing into the crowd with a few salesmen. Only the SL has fought for a program and contingent counterposed to class collaboration.

At the rally a Spartacist speaker addressed a portion of the crowd through a bullhorn:

"We're against negotiated settlements and political solutions. We don't want to see the hard-earned victories on the battlefield traded away at the bargaining table. Today is the fiftieth anniversary of the 1932 La Matanza (the Massacre) and we stand for the only program that can prevent another one—a workers revolution throughout Central America. CISPES organizers brought you here today to prop up the [Salvadoran] FDR popular front and to align with the U.S. Democratic Party. We know that this strategy means defeat and WE WILL NOT BE SILENCED!"

Our contingent then chanted "Remember Bay of Pigs, Remember Vietnam—Democratic Party, We Know Which Side You're On!" Before leaving the park we sang the Internationale. As hundreds of heads turned to listen there was no doubt who stood for workers revolution.

Massacres...

(continued from page 1)

huts. Then the army left, the villagers relieved at being left alive. But early the next morning the Atlacatl Brigade was back. They herded the villagers into the plaza in front of the church. The men were blindfolded, bound and beaten, then taken away in groups of four to be shot. A survivor told the *Washington Post's* Alma Guillermoprieto what happened next:

"Around noon they began with the women. First they picked out the young girls and took them away to the hills. Then they picked out the old women and took them to Israel Marquez' house on the square. We heard the shots there. Then they started with us in groups. When my turn came... I slipped behind a tree and climbed up. I saw the lieutenant then. He was personally machine-gunning people....

"A soldier said 'Lieutenant somebody here says he won't kill children.' 'Who's the sonofabitch who said that?' the lieutenant answered. 'I am going to kill him.'"

—*Washington Post*, 27 January

Similar stories were told in neighboring villages when leftist rebels led reporters to the scene. In La Joya a survivor told the *New York Times'* Raymond Bonner: "We didn't think they would kill children, women and old people, so they remained." Among the dead in La Joya were a 70-year-old woman and a three-day-old baby. As they left the village soldiers had scrawled on the wall of one house, "The Atlacatl Battalion will return to kill the rest" (*New York Times*, 27 January).

With the grim efficiency that has become common in El Salvador over the past two and a half years, the villagers compiled a list of the victims, with names, ages and villages recorded. Of 482 people killed in Mozote, 280 were children under 14. According to the Salvadoran Human Rights Commission, the total number of innocent civilians butchered by the junta army in this December sweep was 926.

The Salvadoran government claims that such massacres are an invention of

"Soviet disinformation." The U.S. press often presents the bloody killing in El Salvador as a three-cornered fight between "extremists" of the left and right and the "centrist" junta in the middle. This time the FMLN, by bringing major U.S. journalists to the scene of the junta's crime, left no alibis for the army and its U.S. government apologists.

The Atlacatl Brigade is a hand-picked elite unit personally trained by the U.S. Special Forces. And the Green Beret school of "counterinsurgency" was Vietnam, where U.S. imperialism developed its tactics of fighting guerrillas with a war of extermination. The Atlacatl Brigade has never won a battle against the FMLN. Their "victories" have all been of the kind won at Mozote.

The result of the U.S. "counterinsurgency" strategy in 1981, according to figures of the Salvadoran archbishop's Legal Aid office, was the murder of 12,750 civilians. An estimated 3,000 more were killed in combat and 2,000 others in aerial bombing. The number of Salvadorans driven from their homes by the army terror was set at 810,000. Since the U.S.-backed coup of October 1979 one in every 200 Salvadorans has been killed, the overwhelming majority victims of the army and semi-official death squads.

The "Ministry of Death"

Next door in Guatemala the mass murder is, if possible, even more organized. By the end of 1981 some 300 people a month were being killed—according to the State Department's admittedly low figures. The repression has been centralized within an apparatus in the army command known as the "Ministry of Death." In El Salvador most of the victims of the death squads are dragged off in ones and twos in the middle of the night, only to reappear dead on the side of a road or dumped headless on a deserted lava field. But in Guatemala, the press, which always attributes the killings to "desconocidos" (unknown men), reported at least 20 massacres of 50 people or more in 1981.

The U.S. is supposedly barred by

human rights restrictions from supplying Guatemala with any military aid. In reality the government of General Romeo Lucas Garcia has gotten around the restrictions with ease. Reagan last spring reclassified trucks and jeeps as "non-military" aid. Moreover, Guatemala paid \$10.5 million over the past two years to buy nine U.S.-made Bell "civilian" helicopters. Lucas Garcia can't officially buy his own Huey gunship, but his "executive" model Bell 412 was purchased legally—and with two U.S. M-60 machine guns mounted in the doors the only difference is the paint job.

No "Political Solution"

Last summer liberals and fake-leftists hailed the imposition of the "human rights" certification requirement for U.S. aid to El Salvador. The Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) hailed the amendment as a "decisive breakthrough" and claimed that the certification could not be made "unless radical changes occur in El Salvador prior to October" (*El Salvador Alert*, 1 June 1981). Since the administration claims that the junta is a "moderate" force committed to "democratic" elections in March and attributes most of the deaths to leftist "terrorism," no one should have been surprised when Reagan gave the Salvadoran government a passing grade on his human rights report card. Yet even now CISPES calls for Congress to "carefully monitor the certification" and submit new legislation (*El Salvador Alert*, January 1982).

This impotent policy is linked to the Salvadoran opposition popular front's reliance on a "diplomatic offensive" to obtain a "political solution" with the junta. At a recent conference in Lima, Peru, Guillermo Ungo, the social-democratic/liberal leader of the Frente Democrático Revolucionario (FDR), told reporters, "There has been a process of moderation and maturing in our movement.... Negotiation is the only way to avoid the complete destruction of our country" (*Boston Globe*, 31 January). But such pledges of modera-

tion and pleas for mercy from the imperialists and their puppets will have no impact in the face of Reagan's Cold War drive to teach the Soviets a "bloody lesson" in Central America. And what kind of compromise can there be between an army of genocidal butchers, protecting the interests of the handful of Salvadoran landlord-capitalists, and the masses of impoverished Salvadoran workers and peasants?

Frustrated over Poland in its anti-Soviet war drive, the U.S. is already turning the heat up in the Caribbean. "Contingency plans" for a naval blockade between Cuba and Nicaragua are ready; the *gusano* and *somocista* exiles are training at Camp Cuba-Nicaragua near Miami while a counterrevolutionary invasion force is assembled in Honduras, making murderous border raids into Sandinista Nicaragua. This is no localized conflict that could be amicably settled if only Uncle Sam would just go away, as the reformists pretend. Today the battle line of the Cold War runs through Central America. Military victory to leftist insurgents in El Salvador! For workers revolution! Defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in Central America! ■

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Son of Perón...

(continued from page 5)

to the popular front. The OCI, in turn, accuses the Morenoites of not seeing the difference between when the "clash" with the government is 'indirect' and the moment when it is 'direct.' The traditional working-class parties must be unmasked "through the practical movement of the proletariat," writes OCI spokesman Forgue, rather than "through simple denunciation or repeating labels." "Miguel Capa" puts it slightly differently, claiming Trotsky "held that at the beginning of the popular-front government, the main enemy was the bourgeoisie and not the government, which had the confidence of the workers and the opposition of the bourgeoisie." Moreno/Capa also argue that popular fronts are always a "consequence of a revolutionary or electoral victory of the masses."

Only "indirectly" criticize the popular front vs. the "main enemy" is the bourgeoisie, not the government? At most the differences between Morenoites and Lambertists on this key question are between those who give "critical" support to Mitterrand and those who are shamelessly uncritical. The Bolshevik policy was quite the opposite. In his famous "April Theses" Lenin "directly" attacked the classic popular front in the Russian Revolution:

"No support for the Provisional Government: the utter falsity of all its promises should be made clear.... Exposure in place of the impermissible, illusion-breeding 'demand' that this government, a government of capitalists, should cease to be an imperialist government...."

—"The Tasks of the Proletariat in the Present Revolution," April 1917

As for Trotsky, far from considering the election of a popular-front government a "victory" of the workers, he always denounced such blocs as a barrier to proletarian revolution. And he certainly didn't spare the bureaucrats. Following the election of the Spanish People's Front in 1936 he wrote that the first duty of revolutionaries in Spain was: "To condemn and denounce mercilessly before the masses the policy of *all* the leaders participating in the Popular Front" ("The Tasks of the Fourth International in Spain," April 1936).

Anti-Soviet Rotten Bloc

Moreno/Lambert's main hope for building a relatively stable rotten bloc was in elaborating a program based on dead-end *anti-Sovietism*. And they went at it with the passion of a couple of "captive nations" "freedom fighters." In response to Jimmy Carter's Cold War crusade over Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, various fake-Trotskyists called for the withdrawal of the Red Army. The "Parity Committee" went even further, calling for *military support* to the CIA-aided Islamic reactionaries. And in rhapsodizing on Khomeini's mullah rule in Iran, the Morenoites called for extending this Islamic counterrevolution to the Soviet Union (see *WV* No. 249, 8 February 1980)! To justify such treachery they resorted to the Lambertist myth of a "counterrevolutionary Holy Alliance based on the world order established at Yalta and Potsdam." According to this demono-

logical Stalinophobic worldview, everything from the Cold War to Eurocommunism is the product of a Kremlin/White House plot.

Then came Poland. Naturally, Lambert/Moreno became enthusiastic supporters of Solidarność (along with the Mandelites, social democrats and other "friends of labor" like Pope Wojtyla and Ronald Reagan). A resolution on Poland at the founding conference of the "International Committee" had not a single reference to defense of the Soviet bloc degenerated/deformed workers states against imperialism. ("Naturally," for if there's no conflict between the capitalists and the Stalinist bureaucrats, then what's to defend...?) There was a slight disagreement over whether the call for a *constituent assembly* should be the central slogan in Poland. (Moreno: "[Call for] soviets? Then we wouldn't have any more possibility of dialogue with the masses.") And the Solidarność congress last September, with its call for "free elections" and "free trade unions" throughout East Europe, was hailed as a clarion call to battle against Stalinist totalitarianism.

But even virulent anti-Sovietism couldn't keep them together. Now, in the wake of the Polish military crackdown in December against a counter-revolutionary power grab by Solidarność, both Morenoites and Lambertists quickly took to the streets along with the imperialist bourgeoisie (and East European ultra-rightist émigrés) in protest. Here was a *real* counterrevolutionary unholy alliance! And this is the banner under which Pierre Lambert's PCI and his "International Reconstruction Committee" were born. His report at the founding meeting began with a salute to Solidarność, Jacek Kuron and the leaders of the KPN—a gang of anti-Communist, anti-Semitic, ultra-nationalist Pilsudskiites! Once again, as over Portugal, the Lambertists' Stalinophobia leads them to act as running dogs of the CIA.

And once again the pseudo-Trotskyist quick-change artist Nahuel Moreno is posing as a left oppositionist. As we have shown, this is belied by his entire record. Only the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) has fought consistently for the Trotskyist policies of proletarian opposition to the popular front and of unconditional defense of the gains of the October Revolution. In the face of widespread illusions the iSt uniquely called for no vote to Mitterrand in 1981 and no vote to Allende in 1970, warning that the workers must rely on their own class power to defeat reaction. And as the fake-lefts dance to Carter/Reagan's Cold War tune, the iSt forthrightly proclaimed, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!"

Lambert's revolving Organizing/Parity/International/Reconstruction Committee, Moreno's endless disguises, Mandel's perpetually dis-United Secretariat all lead nowhere. These unprincipled combinations regularly fall apart at the first test. The international Spartacist tendency, in fighting for the principles and program of Bolshevik-Leninism, seeks to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International. Not opportunist rotten blocs, but a world party of socialist revolution! ■

Zinoviev...

(continued from page 2)

modernizers such as Turkey's Kemal Atatürk. But they were the very opposite of everything an Islamic *jihad* ("holy war") stands for.

The review of *Reds* by the Socialist Workers Party's Harry Ring, which reader Sanders refers to, comments that Zinoviev "did call for a 'holy war'—a 'holy war' against imperialism" (*Militant*, 1 January). As enthusiastic supporters of the bloody Islamic fanatic Khomeini, the SWP obviously sees nothing wrong in this. The Moscow Stalinists of the Communist Party also protested that *Reds* gives a false picture of Zinoviev, but in a very different way. "It is wrong to assume," writes Bruce Caraway in the 8 January *Daily World*, "that the general population has any idea of what became of Zinoviev, how he betrayed the Revolution and was put on trial by the Soviet government!" Even today the CPUSA applauds Stalin's murder of the first head of the Communist International, the bloody purges of the Bolshevik Old Guard, of the leaders of the Red Army and, of course, of Trotsky.

Zinoviev has long been a controversial figure among communists. As the chief executive officer of the Comintern, he was the Bolshevik leader who worked most closely with the early American Communist movement. Zinoviev was key in overcoming the unnecessary, programmatically unjustified and destructive split between the Communist Party of Fraima/Ruthenberg and the Communist Workers Party of Reed/Gitlow. A few years later he played a central role in getting American Communists to abandon self-isolating "undergroundism" and become a public, legal party. At the same time, he played a crucial role in defeating the Left Opposition; Stalin was able to accumulate power in large part by posing as the "nice guy" as against the heavy-handed bureaucrat Zinoviev. James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, once summed up Zinoviev's erratic career, not only his flaws and failings as a revolutionist but also his important contributions:

"Zinoviev was not one man. There were four Zinovievs at least—I would say there were six Zinovievs. There was the Zinoviev who was the most intimate collaborator of Lenin in exile during the war, who did great historic work. Then there was the Zinoviev who...together with Kamenev, lost his nerve on the eve of the insurrection.... [Then there was] Zinoviev who corrected himself after that, who became the chairman of the Comintern and Lenin's agent, really, in leading the Comintern."

"All the great worldwide propaganda against Zinovievism and Zinoviev was set in motion by the group of centrists who were attracted to the Comintern in its first years and recoiled from it in its first years under Lenin: Balabanov and others of that sort who gave to the whole organization of Lenin, the organization of the Comintern, the twenty-one points, they gave the name of Zinoviev, making it synonymous with Leninism. When anybody waves the flag of Zinovievism you can do very well to trace it back to which Zinoviev they mean...."

"Then there was a fourth Zinoviev, the Zinoviev of the troika with Stalin and Kamenev after the death of Lenin. This is the Zinoviev who began to backslide, and it is correct, as [Albert] Goldman said, that the organizational methods that began to be introduced into the Comintern, in contradistinction to the earlier years, were sort of a bridge toward Stalinism...."

"But then there is another Zinoviev, the fifth Zinoviev, who in 1926 broke away from the bloc with Stalin and concluded a bloc with Trotsky.... I didn't become a Trotskyist until 1928 and that was when the bloc of Trotsky and Zinoviev had been broken and the sixth Zinoviev, the capitulator, appeared and went back to the camp of Stalinism, and I, on the other hand, supported Trotsky."

—"A Reply to Goldman on Three Points," in James P. Cannon, *Writings and Speeches*, 1945-47

Trotsky commented that in the Marxist movement "the collective substitutes for what the individual cannot achieve.... The whole Bolshevik Party is a marvelous example of this." Under Lenin's and Trotsky's supervision, Bukharin, Zinoviev and many more were capable of great achievements. But with this control gone, they were like a dog without his master. The collective was broken. Yet the view of Zinoviev as a bureaucratic hack little different from Stalin is radically false. Stalinism was not a question of personality but of the pressures leading to the degeneration of the revolution, chiefly its international isolation. ■

Detroit...

(continued from page 12)

thousands of auto workers, for the poor and black population of Detroit and other cities, the "status quo" means increasing misery caused by the capitalist profit-motive economy.

The giveback drive must be repulsed through powerful militant action which challenges capitalist ownership of the factories. A *two-day sitdown strike* in auto plants throughout depressed southern Michigan, the center of auto production, would throw back the bosses' giveback drive and could spark *labor action to bring down Reagan*. An immediate goal must be to keep working people—laid-off UAW workers, pensioners, single mothers with children—off the welfare lines by getting union-level wages in the form of unconditional unlimited unemployment compensation with full cost-of-living protection, paid by the federal government. And Reagan's anti-Soviet war budget be damned!

Conditions in Detroit today are a more powerful argument for Bolshevism than a thousand pamphlets. Black unemployment in the city tops 26 percent; the key is the fight for jobs for all, through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay. While layoffs and shutdowns threaten the organized existence of the mainly black proletariat, the genocidal fascist groups that are increasingly active in depressed Detroit threaten the workers' lives. Labor/black defense guards are immediately necessary to defend workers' picket lines, homes and families.

Reagan is not trashing working people, the poor and the aged simply to bolster the corporate bottom line. Reagan is the leader of a desperate ruling class that sees no way out for the crisis of American capitalism except through the rollback of the social gains of the October Revolution in Russia—even if that means blowing up the world. Reagan weeps for Solidarność because the capitalists saw this CIA company union as providing the biggest opportunity since the end of World War II to make East Europe "safe" for GM and bring the "prosperity" of Detroit to Gdansk.

Givebacks, layoffs and Klan terror are part of Reagan's massive anti-Soviet arms build-up and war drive. That is why the Russian question is crucial. You can't fight the givebacks without fighting Reagan and the anti-Soviet war drive. And you can't fight by replacing Reagan with the Democrats, who paved the way with their own war drive against the Soviet Union and workers and blacks in the U.S. There is no way out

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within the capitalist system. A workers government is needed which rips the productive wealth of this country out of the hands of the capitalist class, without a dime in compensation.

Today in Detroit and its surroundings the alternatives facing the proletariat literally boil down to socialist revolution or demoralization and despair. The situation cries out for revolutionary leadership, for an integrated vanguard party such as only the Spartacist League seeks to build, such as Lenin built to lead the Russian Revolution in 1917.

Auto workers must oppose the bosses' protectionist campaign, which has been embraced by virtually every UAW official. Besides dividing American workers from their class brothers abroad, protectionism saves profits, not jobs. The Steelworkers union's no-strike pledge and its "Buy American" propaganda haven't stemmed the loss of jobs. Rather, such policies have emboldened the steel bosses to throw tens of thousands of workers on the scrap heap with impunity. Recently, U.S. Steel, whose industrial base consists of aging plants built at the turn of the century, decided to spend \$6 billion, not to build a new steel plant but to buy Marathon Oil.

But if the American capitalists have no program to rebuild basic industry, they sure as hell have a program to beat the competition: war! The bureaucrats who support the poison of protectionism are helping to ideologically line up the working people for inter-imperialist slaughter. Today, international working class solidarity is a life and death question.

Crisis of Leadership

UAW president Doug Fraser's name is now a dirty word throughout his union. But auto workers better take a careful look at the gang of opportunists and bureaucrats who are riding the anti-Fraser bandwagon. Most visible are the bureaucrats in Locals Against Concessions (LOC) and the Independent Skilled Trades Council (ISTC) of long-time house oppositionists Pete Kelly and Al Gardner. It should come as no surprise that these fakers have no program of militant action against the giveaways. Where were they during the great billion-dollar Chrysler giveaway? And how about the giveaway of over 200,000 layoffs, which the LOC and ISTC have done nothing to prevent? Furthermore, they 100 percent support Fraser's protectionist call for banning

imports of Japanese parts and components. "If it's built elsewhere, then sell it elsewhere," says LOC spokesman Dan Douglas.

Another Fraser critic is Rick Martin, president of Local 600's heavily black Coke Oven and Blast Furnace unit. Martin distinguishes himself from the ISTC hunch by at least paying lip service to the need for struggle against the companies. In his column in the December issue of Local 600's *Ford Facts*, for example, Martin recalled the "nationwide strikes, boycotts and sit-downs" of the '30s. At the December 13 Local 600 General Council meeting,

No givebacks,
no layoffs—for a
sit-down strike!



Martin presented a resolution for a "nationwide work stoppage of all labor" to protest Reagan's enormous military budget and to demand "emergency legislation" restoring cuts in federal assistance programs and preventing foreclosures, evictions, etc. The motion was approved as a "recommendation" to Fraser.

Despite Martin's pledge to "pursue this objective" (*Ford Facts*, 25 January), his resolution is nothing but pie-in-the-sky. The only reason for the largest UAW local in the country to kick the question of strike action upstairs to the International is to avoid having to carry it out.

Perhaps most utopian is Martin's call on Reagan's government to enact "emergency legislation" and to intervene "into big business profit-making decisions." Such a demand suggests that the government is a "neutral" arbitrator between labor and capital. On the contrary, the state is an instrument to increase profits at the expense of labor. Electing Democrats changes nothing: the cuts in social services and the military build-up began under Jimmy "Ethnic Purity" Carter.

Many Rouge workers won't be surprised if Martin's call for action goes nowhere. Behind his militant rhetoric,

they see the man who pushed through concessions in his own unit last year! Predictably, however, his token strike call has been picked up by the United Front Caucus (UFC) at Rouge, an opportunist lash-up including among others supporters of the centrist Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), an organization which has made the "right" to cross a picket line a key element of its program. Instead, what's needed is a sit-down that challenges the bosses' property rights. The UFC talks abstractly about sit-downs, but has made it clear that such actions should only occur when they are "authorized by the International"—i.e., never! Now they

call for a one-day UAW-wide protest strike, an action that would have little effect on the layoff-ravaged auto companies.

What the Working Class Needs

At Ford's River Rouge plant in Local 600, only the Rouge Militant Caucus (RMC) has a program that breaks cleanly from Fraser's pro-company policy. The RMC program includes demands for sit-down strikes to fight layoffs, labor/black mobilization against Klan/Nazi terror, for labor action to bring down Reagan, and a workers government.

In the context of the wretched reformism of virtually all groups contending for leadership of the working class, Ford has singled out the Rouge Militant Caucus for victimization. Management ripped down RMC leaflets from an area where everyone has posted for years, and then attempted to frame up and fire Caucus member Charles DuBois on a charge that he had threatened a foreman. Rouge workers rallied to the defense of DuBois, several stepping forward as witnesses to refute the company frame-up, and Ford told the union verbally that it was dropping the main charge. An RMC leaflet of January 26 asserted:

"Ford targeted Rouge Militant and Charles DuBois to silence our answer to their layoffs and pay cuts: 'Vote No! Not one layoff! For sit-down strikes to defend our jobs!' Ford not only wants to take our jobs and our money, they want us to keep our mouths shut while we shuffle off to the unemployment line!"

The best answer to the reformists, who offer "solutions" to the crises of capitalism that always leave the workers with deteriorating living standards, is what Leon Trotsky wrote over 40 years ago. His *Transitional Program* was written during the Great Depression of the '30s, a period of massive worldwide social convulsions and impending imperialist war. In it Trotsky asserted that the revolutionary vanguard must base its demands on what the working class needs, not on what decaying capitalism makes "possible":

"Property owners and their lawyers will prove the 'unrealizability' of these demands. Smaller, especially ruined capitalists, in addition will refer to their account ledgers. The workers categorically denounce such conclusions and references.... The question is one of guarding the proletariat from decay, demoralization and ruin. The question is one of life or death of the only creative and progressive class, and by that token of the future of mankind." ■

It's a Dog's Life Being a Stalinist Hack

DETROIT, January 17—The Communist Party (CP) convened a two-day conference of *Daily World* "builders" here this weekend. The "live wire" elements present were, for the most part, the same veterans who show up at all CP functions. And the political message was the same tired old reformism, always seeking a new New Deal with the Democrats.

It was immediately apparent that this conference had nothing to do with providing revolutionary leadership to the working class. Outside the hall, the CP allowed a bunch of fascist scum called the "SS Action Group" to mill around. This provocation was never mentioned during the meeting, nor was anything done to remove these racist terrorists! That might offend a couple of dubious allies on the Detroit City Council, it seems.

On the podium it was non-stop "fight Reaganomics" and build a new people's front. Part and parcel of this is the CP's plan for the '82 Congressional elections: they're going to develop a political hit list like the new conservatives' and fight to get "progressive" Democrats in office to "defeat Rea-

ganism." With the understanding, of course, that they must keep up pressure on these "progressives" so they don't end up selling out. Sort of like trying to keep a snake from slithering.

CP general secretary Gus Hall laid out a "people's program" for the "fightback movement" that included impeaching Reagan, "a \$100 billion slash in the military budget" and "a timetable to restore all cuts in social programs." By our count that leaves \$121 billion per year for the imperialist war machine—more than enough to annihilate every Soviet city! And what are the poor supposed to do? Stop eating until the capitalist economic "timetable" makes food stamps available again?

While conference participants awaited late-arriving buses from New York, Hall gave a warm-up talk. In it he revealed that when Reagan imposed sanctions against the USSR over Poland, some *Daily World* staffers wanted to duck the issue with a headline against Reaganomics! The general secretary sternly called them to order. But who could deny the logic of

their deviation? After all, you can't snuggle up to the imperialist Democrats and defend the Soviet Union.

The working-class heroes of the weekend were the early morning plant gate distributors. They needed a pat on the back: it turns out that those free *DWs* are paid for by the readers' groups that give them out! The factory distributors had an additional gripe: they often run into other groups selling their papers. One notable example was in New York at a large transit barn where the "Trots" were selling. Someone else mentioned those same "ultra-lefts" turning up consistently at a Midwest steel plant. In fact, scores of NYC transit workers and Chicago steel workers buy every issue of the Spartacist League's *Workers Vanguard*, even in competition with the *Daily World* freebies. Because they want a paper that tells it straight.

Being a *Daily World* "builder" must be a dog's life. No wonder they want to hide from the Poland issue when they have to write and sell (or even give away) headlines like, "POLAND HEEDS UNITY CALL—Nation Goes Back to Work." Where the

Trotskyists of the SL openly say, "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!" the Stalinist apologists get all mealy-mouthed because they can't admit that three decades of bureaucratic abuse and crimes have driven the bulk of the Polish workers into the arms of reaction. And they certainly haven't got a program to do anything about it beyond the crackdown.

Or how about the "leadership" provided by the *Daily World* at home? Like the *DW* headline in December, "PATCO Couldn't Live on Moral Support." Kind of late, isn't it? Because empty "moral support" is all the CP ever offered when it counted—recall Gus Hall's "flying is scabbing" diversion. They were too busy covering for do-nothing bureaucrats like the Machinists' Winpisinger, who stabbed PATCO in the back. Only the Spartacist League fought for labor to "Shut Down the Airports!"

While the *Daily World* pushes its treacherous "people's front" with the Democrats, *Workers Vanguard* provides the class-struggle program for a workers fight to bring Reagan down. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Fight for It—No Givebacks, No Layoffs!

Detroit: For a Two-Day Auto Sitdown!

DETROIT, January 30—Doug Fraser's plans for Chrysler-style concessions hit a snag this week when talks broke off between General Motors and the United Auto Workers (UAW). At the press conference following today's meeting of the union's GM Bargaining Council, UAW president Fraser moaned that dissidents within the council had undercut his bargaining position. In fact it was the angry ranks who put the heat on the UAW local presidents in the council.

By last week an opposition to continuing the talks had mounted to over 40 percent of the delegates. A demonstration of over 1,000 angry auto workers at the council's doorsteps had been threatened. Company negotiators were convinced that there was no point in putting together a giveaway package that the ranks weren't going to buy anyway.

The UAW hacks promptly announced that giveback negotiations with Ford Motor Company would continue. Fraser's hopes to ram through concessions here and later use them as a



WV Photo

battering ram against GM workers must be stopped. Ford UAW members must demand that the Ford Council be recalled immediately and all negotiations cease!

Maintaining the existing contract won't put a single one of GM's 130,000 indefinitely laid-off workers back on the job. It won't stop the company from going after new concessions when the

contract expires in September. It won't stop the massive social devastation that literally makes survival the issue for auto workers. For hundreds of
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NYC Phone Militant Mindy Gianninoto Fired, Arrested

"I Won't Be Ma Bell's Fink!"

On Tuesday, February 2, Communications Workers of America (CWA) militant Mindy Sankel Gianninoto was fired by AT&T, arrested by New York City police, handcuffed in full view of her fellow workers and dragged off to police headquarters. Her "crime" was refusing to fink on fellow workers. This outrage is an attack on the entire union! Phone workers in NYC must demand all charges be dropped and Mindy be reinstated immediately!

Tuesday's dramatic arrest was a result of a continuing battle in which the phone company has been trying to force workers to act as snitches in the shop. Mindy Gianninoto, a technician at the AT&T center at 811 10th Avenue in Manhattan, has consistently refused to "flag mistakes" for the supervisors on her fellow workers' job tickets. Last September Mindy was suspended and escorted out of the building by the New York Police Department for refusing to rat on her union brothers and sisters. But she refused to back down under intimidation.

When Mindy Gianninoto came to work on Tuesday, management called her into the office and tried to browbeat her into agreeing to fink, threatening to "separate her from the payroll." She replied, "The union has advised me not to answer because it is in the grievance

procedure." Thereupon management announced she was "terminated" for "refusing a work directive." Plant security and the city police were called in. Mindy told WV, "I went out to the floor, telling everybody about this. I said 'I won't fink on people, this is not a union job.'" When she refused to leave, she was handcuffed with her hands behind her back and paraded down the aisle past her fellow workers. "People couldn't believe it. You know, here's Mindy in handcuffs." She was booked for criminal trespass.

The phone company is notorious for its regimentation and victimization of unionists. Last September when Mindy Gianninoto was suspended, her fellow workers, including 12 union stewards, came to her defense with a leaflet saying, "Would you feel safer working alongside Mindy or someone who finks and 'grieves it'?" At that time, 50 of her co-workers escorted her onto the floor when management threatened to prevent her from coming to work.

CWA members must rally to Mindy's defense. Let Ma Bell know it can't run a slave plantation. The union must not permit victimization of its members for refusing to do fink work. Mindy Gianninoto must be reinstated with full back pay and all disciplinary measures removed from her file. Drop the charges! ■



Arrested for defending the union.